2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

On the whole, those two authorities stress the linguistic unity of all the Masai.

The great majority of the Masai are pastoral, only very few tribes having taken to agriculture. The pastoral tribes follow a semi-nomadic way of life. "They move", writes Lord HAILEY,[3] "with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that in effect they practise a system of rotational grazing". The same writer,[4] reports "a recent estimate" of Masai herds in Kenya which puts "the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys". For Tanganyika he gives no figure. The above estimates show clearly enough how the attitude of the Masai to cattle is a paramount feature of their life. To own cattle is a privilege obtained through initiation, and large herds are a sign of outstanding social status. Cattle are the main economic interest and investment for the Masai.[5]

The total population of all the Masai may be reckoned at about 122,792. The 1948 census of Kenya's population (see Bibl.) gives for the Samburu an estimate of 20,000, and the following figures: Njemps 3,423, the other Masai 67,201. In 1931 the Tanganyika Masai were reckoned as 32, 168.

* * *

Under the present political situation, the Masai are not administered as a single unit, for they are divided into two sections by the border of Tanganyika Territory and Kenya Colony.

In Tanganyika the Masai form one of the four districts of the Territory's Northern Province (the Masai District). In Kenya the main group inhabits the reserve adjoining Tanganyika Masai District, and constitutes the Extra Provincial District (Masai District) of the Colony. The other group (Samburu and Njamusi) is incorporated with the Rift Valley Province (Samburu and Baringo District), and partly with the Northern Frontier Province. The geographical separation of the Samburu from the other Masai is the reason why the Samburu were considered, and are still considered, as a non-Masai tribe. But, as BRYAN remarks, they are true Masai. The splitting of Masailand and the separation of the Masai were made

[3] HAILEY, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I*, London 1950, p. 281.

[4] *L. c.*, p. 167.

[5] In this connection see the article of L. JAMES, in *Africa*, 12, pp. 49 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

permanent by the present administrative arrangement, but were not established by it. The land which divides the Samburu in the north from the Kapiti in the south of Kenya, was once the home of the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu Masai. In those days, Masailand was a continuous strip of land stretching over the plains south of Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru up to the shores of Lake Rudolph. At the end of 19th century a great cattle plague and, even more, civil wars (the Kapiti versus the Laikipiak and Uasin Gishu) wrought havoc among the latter, who were almost destroyed. The few remnants have been absorbed by other Masai tribes, especially the Kapiti and the Kisongo. The Laikipiak plains west of Nanyuki which in 1904 had first been set aside as a special reserve (the Northern Masai reserve), were subsequently declared open to European settlement, and by 1911 Agreement the Southern Masai Reserve was enlarged into what is now the Extra Provincial District of the Masai in Kenya Colony. [1]

* * *

A comparative analysis of the literature shows the existence of three graded territorial units, the major and the minor territorial sections, and the village. A character common to the first two sections is the absence of a clear limit or boundary. The sections are spoken of in terms of watering and grazing rights. The nomadic aspect of Masai life is chiefly responsible for this territorial vagueness. The absence of any centralised authority to check people and cattle's transhumance is another important cause of the vagueness of Masai territorial organisation.

The major territorial section is made up by the area in which the movements of a full tribe usually take place. The existence of

[1] SANDFORD, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1919, Appendix; *K. L. C. E.*, p. 188. One may note that the Uasin Gishu and the Laikipiak, together with the Siria and the Lumbwa were despised as inferior, for they were not considered as "pure Masai" by the other tribes who regarded themselves as descendants of Maasinda. See FOSBROOKE, p. 7. This ill-feeling may explain in part, the fury with which the Kapiti fought against the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu.

In December 1950. I visited the Ndigirri Dorobo at Dol Dol on the Mukogodo Hills, some 50 miles north west of Nanyuki. They claim to have been dependent on the Laikipiak Masai, and they survived the slaughter thanks to their seclusion in the forests. Their present outlook seems to be entirely Masai. The names of their age-classes are consonant with those of the Masai.

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Mr. Hemsted's Proposals, February, 1913.

On August 1st, 1912, Mr. R. W. Hemsted was placed in charge of the Masai Reserve. In February, 1913, he submitted a scheme for the administration of the Reserve. This memorandum dealt with the following points:—

STATIONS AND SUB-STATIONS.—The Masai being a tribe of nomadic habits, scattered over a wide area, and concentrated in no particular localities, he considered that effective administration could not be carried on by officers remaining at fixed stations. Constant travelling was necessary, and he advocated the establishment of one central station only, with four or five outposts at each of which a small house could be erected for the visiting officer, with a few huts for his staff. The central station would be situated near the Uaso Nyiro, or on the River Narosura, and would be the headquarters of the officer in charge. In this way, economy and mobility would be combined with efficiency. He suggested the erection of outposts in the Ol-Orokuti near the Anglo-German border, in the Lemek Valley or on the Upper Mara, at Il Melili, at Ngong, and among the Laitokitok, or in the Magadi Railway zone.

STAFF would consist of an officer in charge, a Senior District Commissioner, four Assistant District Commissioners, one Police and one Veterinary officer.

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NATIVE ADMINISTRATION.—The tribal system of the Masai rendered direct administration of the clans through their own chiefs particularly suitable. The paramount chief was recognised by the whole tribe, but had tended, under British protection, to deteriorate into a mere figure-head. His duties could be considerably extended. Legalishu, Ngaroya, Masikondi, and Toroni drew pay from the Government, but these men, though intelligent, were conservative and lacking in energy. A few young and energetic men could be included in the ranks of the official headmen, whose numbers should be increased, and Mr. Hemsted suggested the following appointments as sufficient for the needs of the tribe:—

For the Purko clan		1 chief and 3 headmen.
„	Kaputiei ..	1 chief and 3 headmen.
	L'Odo Kilani ..	
	Matapatu ..	
	Sighirari ..	
„	Loita	1 chief and 1 headman.
	Salei	
„ Kakonyukye		1 chief or headman.
„ Siria		1 chief or headman.
„ Il Dala Lekutuk ..		1 chief or headman.
„ Il Damat		1 chief or headman.
„ Laitokitok		1 chief or headman.

—a total of 15 chiefs and headmen, in addition to the paramount chief, for the supervision of some 37,500 Masai and 13,500 square miles of territory.

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The clan divisions mentioned above were, in fact, geographical divisions, overlapping in certain cases, but Mr. Hemstel proposed the demarcation of each division and the restriction of the clans to the use of the areas allotted to them, which would be termed locations. The Masai were, he said, agreeable to such an arrangement, realising that any trouble which might arise could thus be localised.

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TAXATION.—While agreeing that the present form of hut tax was unsatisfactory, and inadequate in the case of the Masai, he considered that the difficulties of assessment, the dissatisfaction that might be created, and the probable consequent fluctuations in the revenue were serious objections to the imposition of a cattle tax. He therefore suggested a poll tax of Rs. 15 per head per annum, together with a compulsory subscription of Rs. 15 per head per annum towards a fund for development of, and improvements in the reserve. A revenue of Rs. 90,000 or Rs. 100,000 would thus be assured, and it was difficult to justify a higher tax. In the alternative, he suggested a tax of one to one-and-a-half per cent. on all cattle, irrespective of age or sex.

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SECTION VII

THE MASAI EXTRA PROVINCIAL DISTRICT

GENERAL NOTE

MASAILAND constitutes an Extra Provincial District under an Officer in Charge, holding the powers of a Provincial Commissioner, with two District Commissioners, stationed at Kajiado and Narok. The legislation in force in other parts of the Colony applies to the District, but the Outlying District Ordinance, No. 25 of 1902, has also been applied to it, in order to provide a means for controlling immigration from other tribes, a matter to which, as will be subsequently shown, much importance is attached by Masai tribesmen. The area of the District is 15,177 square miles and the population was estimated in 1945 at 53,000.[1] The density is thus 3.4 per square mile.

The Masai District contains in its more northern section a considerable area of land which ranks for agricultural or pastoral purposes with parts of the neighbouring Highlands reserved for European use, though it is to be noted that the rainfall here is more variable than in the central part of the Highlands. The lower parts of the District have a lower and even more variable rainfall, with the result that there is an area, conservatively estimated at a little over 3,000 square miles, which is arid and for all practical purposes waterless.[2] But the value of the large area held by the Masai is not to be judged by its agricultural possibilities, for if the Masai no longer justify the character assigned to them by history as "a virile tribe of predatory nomads," they have at all events maintained their traditional habit of life as a pastoral people, and though there is some cultivation in the Nairage-Ngare area and also near Ngong, this forms only an infinitesimal part of the District, and is for the most part carried out by Kikuyu immigrants on behalf of the local Masai.

It is of interest to note that in 1904 the number of cattle was estimated at only 50,000 and the sheep and goats at 600,000. This may have been an underestimate, though it must be realized that the country was still to some extent suffering from the effects of the great rinderpest epidemic of 1890, which had entailed such catastrophic results both on the numbers and the military power of the Masai. By 1914 the estimate had gone up to 600,000 head of cattle and over a million and half sheep and goats.[3] The Masai herds suffered severely in the drought of 1933 and 1934, when their losses of cattle were estimated at over a quarter of a million. But a recent estimate has put the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys. The further increase in the number of cattle is to some extent affected by the existence of fly, which is prevalent on the South Kavirondo boundary, in the extreme west, and also in the middle area, where the Kajiado and Narok Districts join. But if the present estimate of the stock is correct,

[1] Kenya Colony Blue Book, 1946, page 252.
[2] There is a summary of the physical conditions of the district by L. James at page 49 of Africa, January, 1939, together with a useful bibliography.
[3] Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. R. Sandford, 1918, page 3.

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the Masai must, considering their small numbers, have a larger potential capital per head than any other tribe in East or Central Africa.

Practically the whole population may be said to belong to the Masai tribe, though there are a small number of immigrants, numbering rather less than one thousand in all, ninety per cent. being Kikuyu. As shown above, they are for the most part employed by the Masai in the cultivation of the small area of land used for agricultural purposes. There has been a certain amount of intermarriage, but the penetration of the country by the Kikuyu is viewed with distrust by the Masai, and three Alien Committees have lately been established in order to consider measures for the control of alien immigration. An area of 47 square miles known locally as Olenguruone) within the Masai Native Land Unit was set aside in 1942 for "squatters" displaced from European farms, most of whom are Kikuyu.[1] But this area will remain politically separate, and it wil not affect the position of the Masai as a homogeneous population.

Early records refer to the existence in Masailand of a number of Dorobo, of whom Masai tradition speaks as the original inhabitants of the country. When Europeans fist came into contact with the Masai, part of the Dorobo were still leading a primitive life in the bush, while part served the Masai as herdsmen and in some cases had small herds of their own. These people have, however, now been absorbed by the Masai and are not readily distinguishable from them.

THE MASAI TRIBE

Reference will be found in the Chapter on Tanganyika to the circumstances in which the Masai tribe, as it existed in 1890, was cut in two by the international boundary drawn between Kenya and Tanganyika.[2] The area thus left to the Masai in Kenya, now estimated at 15,177 square miles, compares with the area of 18,470 square miles now held by the Tanganyika Masai, with an estimated population of 32,168, and a density of 1.7 per square mile. The proceedings as the result of which the Kenya Masai were in 1911 placed in occupation of their present area have had a prominent place in the controversies connected with the alienation of native lands in the Colony, but it will be sufficient to refer here to the facts as summarized in paragraphs 635 to 674 of the Report of the Land Commission of 1933.[3] The Masai lands are now held as a Native Land Unit under the terms of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance 28 of 1938 and the Kenya (Native Areas) Order in Council 1939. There is, however, one fact which differentiates the Masai lands from those occupied by other tribes under the terms of this legislation, or those held by the Tanganyika Masai. Whatever the judicial value of the Agreements made with the Kenya Masai in 1904 and 1911, it is held, in the words used by the Governor of Kenya in 1946, that they "have the validity of a Treaty."[4] If so, the terms of the Order confirming the Agreement of 1911 constitute a moral obligation to the Government to reserve these lands for the exclusive use of the Masai, "so long

[1] Report on Native Affairs 1939–45, page 54. But see also the Agrarian Problem in Kenya, 1947, page 24 for more recent developments. Most of the Kikuyu are said to have abandoned their lands in the Settlement.

[2] Chapter III. page 282.

[3] Cmd 4556 (1934) page 185. For fuller details see Chapter III of Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, previously referred to.

[4] Despatch No. 44 dated 17 April, 1946. The Agreement of 1911 is printed at page 577 of the Report of the Land Commission previously referred to.

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as the Masai race shall exist," and to refrain from leasing or granting any land (except such land as may be required for mining or for any public purpose) " without the sanction of the paramount chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe."

As a people of Nilo-Hamitic origin, the Masai have an affinity to the Nandi, Kipsigis, Suk and Turkana of the Keyna Colony, but they have maintained more of their original custom and mode of life than the Nandi or the Kipsigis. A variety of circumstances have combined to produce this result, but it is undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that the extent and quality of the lands occupied by them has allowed them, as a tribe, to escape the disturbance in their traditional life caused by the necessity of wage earning on the European farms and urban centres or of taking to agriculture. It is noteworthy that though parties of the Masai have on various occasions lent assistance to the Kenya Government in military or police operations against other tribes, they have never enlisted in any numbers in the armed forces maintained in the Colony, and they actively resisted the efforts made to secure their recruitment during the War of 1914-1918.

The social structure of the Masai has from the outset created an obstacle to the adoption of any system of native administration similar to that in force in other parts of the Colony. The military organization of the tribe was in earlier days maintained by a system which divided the male population into boys (L'Ayok), warriors (Moran) and elders. The first stage continued till circumcision, performed any time between thirteen and seventeen years of age. Those who were circumcised within a certain period, normally four years, formed an Age Group, and those circumcised during the succeeding period formed a second Age Group, these Groups being distinguished as the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups respectively. The circumcised youths became the warrior class, who were divided into Companies (sirit) living in separate villages (manyatta) often of a considerable size, and the larger manyattas had their own " Counsellors " (L'Aiganak) chosen from among the Moran.

The Moran had special privileges, such as that of cohabitation with unmarried girls, and were relieved of all tribal obligation save fighting and raiding. Even such forms of manual labour as were involved in a pastoral life were avoided by them. They remained on the fighting strength of the tribe or periods which originally varied from seven to twelve years, and then, after the celebration of the E-unoto ceremony, " drank milk " and passed into the stage of Elders. But, as Sir Charles Eliot observed in 1905, " the Elders' ideal of existence seemed to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness."[1] Those who attained a position of wealth and importance might be elected as Chiefs, but the functions of a Chief were restricted to leadership in raiding or warfare.

There is another feature of importance in the social structure. The Masai are divided into Sections (Alosho) which probably had their origin as clan or kinship groups, but have no close correspondence with geographical divisions. There are 14 recognized Sections, of which the Purko is by far the largest and most wealthy. Each of these Sections has its own Age Grades, so that the period at which youths become Moran, or Moran became Elders at the E-unoto ceremony, do not coincide in the different Sections. Each Section used to have an informal Council of the Elders, but these had little direct control of affairs, particularly where the activities of the Moran were concerned, and the situation

[1] Introduction to The Masai, by A. C. Hollis, 1905. For the significance of the E-Unoto ceremony see page 69 of the Administrative and Political History of the Masai quoted above.

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Political Structure

Land Divisions and Authorities

The basic unit of a tribe, *ol-osho*, is the *sirit* or warrior company in its *manyata*, for it represents a district from which a given number of fighting men is drawn; and within this district are also the kraals, *enk-ag*, of the elders. The formation of an *enk-ag* varies. It may contain a group of men who continue as elders the association which they began as warriors in the *manyata*; or it may be a casual grouping which can break up and re-group; and it may contain anything from one to 10 gates. Within the *enk-ag* a rudimentary council seems to exist with one of the elders at its head; it may be no more than the heads of families sitting together and talking. Such as it is, it corresponds to some extent to the Nandi *kokuet*, though its powers and sphere are smaller. But it differs also in an important respect. All the inhabitants of a Nandi parish, including the warriors, come under the jurisdiction of the *kokuet*, whereas in the Masai system the local warrior company has its own authority, the *ol-aiguenani*, who is responsible for the maintenance of both military discipline and "civil law" within his company, and his warriors appear to be independent of the elders' councils. When the age-set has passed out of the warrior stage, the *ol-aiguenani* remains its authority. A number of *sirit*-districts forms the larger unit, *ol-osho*, which English writers call the section or division, the latter being the word used by Sandford. Each of these *il-oshon* has a council of elders which corresponds in some respects to the Nandi *pororiet* council; and, as will be seen from p. 11 above, the *il-oshon* are associated either in loose confederacies with a group-name, like Il-Purko, Il-Damat, and Il-Keek-o-nyokie, which together form the Il-Kinopop, or in distinct "tribes" like Il-Aikipiak, Sambur. The organization of the Sambur seems to have developed on slightly different lines from the rest of the Masai.[39] The *enk-ag* is the homestead of one elder and his wives and children; a number of such homesteads forms a local group with a council of elders, and the total number of local groups is divided among eight sections called *il-mareita* (sing. *ol-marei*), each with a council made up of the leaders of the component group-councils. These *il-mareita* are divided into two large sections with "cattle-names": the Il-oo-rook-kishu, "the black cattle," contains the *il-mareita* of Lo-l-pusin-kishu, Lo-l-ŋuesi, Ol-masila, and Nyaparai; and the Il-oo-ibor-kishu, "the white cattle," contains the sections called Il-oo-rook-kishu, Lo-l-kumai, Lo-l-musii, and Lo-ŋeli.

The most important figure in Masai organization is the *ol-aiguenani*, whose duties in the past were to make the practical arrangements for war, to control the distribution of the loot, to settle disputes when appealed to, to lead his men in war, and to maintain liaison between his company and the laibon on the one hand, and between his company and other companies on the other. But he could resign if displeased with his men, who in turn could dismiss him if not satisfied with his actions. Now that there is no more organized warfare, the duties of the *ol-aiguenani* are mainly confined to the suppression of raiding, in which his effectiveness depends on his character, influence, and disposition; and to settling disputes, in which he is assisted by the elders of the district. Thus a council system with an elected leader has developed out of the older structure in which the *e-manyata* and *enk-ag* were semi-independent bodies. As among the Nandi, it is the personality of the *ol-aiguenani* and the force of public opinion that compel obedience to him. But the whole Masai system is less clear-cut than even that of the Nandi, in spite of the apparent definiteness of the *ol-aiguenani*; though in certain respects he is analogous to the Aba Boku or age-set ruler of the Galla, who is the tribal ruler for a period of eight years.

The Laibon

The laibon, a word anglicized from *ol-oiboni*, pl. *il-oibonok*, and derived from *a-ibon*, "to make 'medicine,'" is a ritual expert who practises divination and rain-making, cures illness, provides charms, and foretells the future. Fosbrooke divides

[39] Information from the Rev. Charles Richmond of the B.C.M.S.

from each side suckled each other's babies. Peace was then kept till it suited one side to break it. With Bantu tribes the Masai sometimes made mock blood-brotherhood with intent to deceive, for they have no blood-brotherhood of their own. As among the Nandi, grass is a sign of peace, and a handful of grass constitutes a plea for mercy recognized by the Masai and those whom they count as more or less their equals, the *Il-maŋati* or " enemies," such as other pastoralists, but not *Il-meek*, the Bantu agricultural tribes.

Legal Sanctions

The Masai legal system seems to be less organized than that of the Nandi, and to depend even more on the force of public opinion than on the position and status of the council leader. It appears that only in cases of homicide is there anything like a regular procedure. The Masai distinguish between intentional and accidental homicide, the difference being that for the latter there is no blood feud and the amount of compensation is smaller. The number of blood-cattle paid as compensation, *in-kishu oo-l-oikop*, " murder cattle," varies, but may be as high as two to three hundred for a man; Hollis says 50 for a boy, and Merker 19 head of cattle and 19 goats and sheep for a woman. Fosbrooke gives the figures as 49 for a circumcised man, and 29 for a woman or uncircumcised man. The Il-Arusa are recognized as a group which pays and receives blood-cattle. The murder may be avenged by the dead person's brothers who may try to kill the murderer; and if compensation is not paid, the resulting feud may involve all agnatic kinsmen on both sides. It is not clear whether killing of the murderer makes the avengers also liable to compensation. If the victim belongs to the same sub-clan as the murderer, no compensation is payable. If they belong to different sub-clans of the same clan, or to different clans, all members of the murderer's sub-clan contribute, and the cattle are divided among the members of the victim's sub-clan after his senior brother has received half the stock. When a settlement has been made, peace is made between the families concerned by an exchange of garments. Maguire gives details of three methods of dealing with cases of murder. (1) The relatives of the victim take all the murderer's cattle; they hold a council and, after giving a few cattle to certain elders and old women, the bell-oxen, herd-leaders, and cows near calving are returned to the owner; the rest they divide among themselves. (2) If action is not taken at once, the relatives of the murderer send a stick to the relatives of the victim, the acceptance of which implies an agreement to meet and settle the matter, and compensation is arranged, the figure named being 40 head of cattle, with nine more added to symbolize the human body (reckoned by the number of its orifices). (3) Sometimes the relatives of the victim do not take action for two years or more; they then raid the murderer's kraal by night and demand the number they want. For killing a smith, *ol-kunoni*, no compensation was payable, nor was there a blood feud. If a smith killed a Masai, several warriors set out and killed several smiths. Theft (except of cattle) is apparently considered of little account: " if a Masai steals milk or meat or other small things, he is not fined. Grown-up people rarely steal," says Hollis. For cattle thefts, the thieves when caught were fined, seven head from each man concerned.

The general principle that a man is entitled to compensation for a wrong suffered is recognized by all Masai; and this recognition is extended to " foreigners " like Dorobo, provided the people concerned are well known to each other. On being accused, a man may submit to an oath, *ol-mumai*. In some cases a diviner of the type called *ol-goiatiki* by Merker is employed to find a guilty person. The whole subject of Masai legal institutions needs detailed investigation.

Modern Administration

The Masai political structure has proved even more difficult of adaptation than that of the Nandi, since it lacked the clear-cut *pororiet* divisions of the latter. Up to 1918 the chief laibon in Kenya was accepted by the Administration as a paramount

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631 chief; but in that year it was recognized that he was in fact no such thing, and the
648 native administration was reconstructed with 14 Native Councils, one for each division (Il-Purko, Il-Damat, etc.), to replace the original council of the *ol-oiko*. These Councils were composed of *il-aigwenak*, elders, and senior warriors; and the presidents of each formed a Central Masai Council which met twice a year. Under the Councils were 46 headmen, some of them *il-aigwenak*. The Reserve was divided into nine locations, the numbers of headmen varying according to the population of the locations. In 1930 these Councils were replaced by a Native Tribunal and an Appeal Tribunal in each of the two administrative districts, Narok and Kajiado, into which the Reserve was then divided. The headmen were divided into two grades, headmen (styled chiefs) and sub-headmen.

In Tanganyika, the laibon was at first regarded as the head of the Kisonko; but since this recognition proved unsatisfactory to the people themselves, a Masai Council was formed as Native Authority, consisting of headmen and elders, but possessing only advisory powers. Later, a local council was set up in each area with representatives of age-sets and clans on it; representatives of each local council sit on the Masai Council. There are 41 paid headmen.

SOURCES: Krapf, 1854; Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Merker, 1910; Whitehouse, 1933; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication; Hailey, 1950.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

CRAFTS

Housing

342 The Masai hut, *enk-aji*, pl. *ink-ajijik*, is a low structure with a flat or flattish
361 roof. It is made of a framework of poles which are bent over and tied together. The interstices are filled with grass or brushwood, and the whole, including the top, is plastered over with mud and cow-dung. In wet weather hides are laid on top to keep out the rain. Huts are not isolated, but are grouped together in kraals. (See above, p. 107.) The huts of the agricultural Il-Tiamus have thatched roofs of the normal East African pattern (p. 111). A temporary skin hut called *ol-gobor* is used for a temporary halt where pasture is poor.

Dress and Ornaments (Traditional)

714 Warriors wear a small calf- or goat-skin cape tied over one shoulder, and a small back apron of skin fastened to the belt. Their battle-dress consists of a head-dress of ostrich feathers or of lion-skin, a cape of vultures' feathers, a cap made of a goat's bladder, a calf-skin garment, leg-ornaments of monkey-skin, and a piece
[301] of goat-skin fastened to the belt. The distinctive warrior's ornament is the horn arm-clamp called *e-rrap*, which has two points sticking upwards and is worn on the upper arm. Warriors also wear ear ornaments, necklaces, bracelets, and leg-bells. A type of garment called *en-toros* is worn by warriors on certain occasions: Hollis says when going on a raid after electing an *ol-aunoni* (*ol-otuno*); John Tombo ole
291 Mbaei, when they go on a raid after making a vow to conquer or die. Elders wear
[556 skin garments fastened over one shoulder; rich elders wear ivory arm-rings. Boys
301] wear a sheepskin.

Married women wear a skin cape and a skin skirt held in place by a broad belt.
291 They wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, often on both the upper and lower arm, and from knee to ankle. All married women wear flat discs of coiled
301 iron wire, *i-surutia*, hung by straps from the ear-lobes (like the Nandi *tasok*), and some wear wide collars made of coiled iron wire which stand out round the neck, and are about 6 or 8 ins. wide. They also wear a profusion of necklaces and neck ornaments. Girls wear skin garments tied at the shoulder and fastened round the waist with a belt. They also wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, and necklaces.